

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME VIII August 1 and 16, 1957

NUMBER
176—177
BEOGRAD

Published by:
THE FEDERATION OF
YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS

Chief Editor and Director
MILORAD MIJOVIĆ

Issued twice a month

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FIVE YEARS OF INDEPENDENT POLICY

Zdravko PEČAR

A FEW days ago Egypt celebrated the fifth anniversary of her revolution, her land reform and her new army sprung out of the revolutionary changes which had taken place in the country. The first parliament of the republic met on this occasion to elect its President, and Gamal Abdel Nasser took the oath before it, the whole country took part in the five-day celebrations which marked the internal and external successes of the new regime.

The fifth anniversary of new Egypt is undoubtedly a significant date, not only for the people inhabiting the Nile valley, but for the whole of the Middle East. Profound revolutionary changes have embraced all spheres of economic, social and political life, and ushered in an era of new and juster social relations. By the latest decision to divide one hundred thousand hectares of Vakuf land among the peasants, Nasser's Government took another step towards the fulfilment of the peasant's demands.

Viewed from a wider historical aspect, the changes in Egypt — the land reform, the liquidation of the monarchy and the old political parties, the cleansing of the state apparatus of corrupt elements, the nationalization of foreign firms and banks belonging to the countries which were guilty of aggression, the resolute course towards industrialization etc — all these indicate earnest ef-

forts to bring about a fundamental change in the life of the Egyptian people.

For ages, even milleniums, these people lived in extreme subjection, oppressed by heavy burdens and slavery to kings, feudal lords or ruthless merchants. The changes which are now under way certainly show that great efforts are being made towards the modernization of the state and the advancement of its productive forces. The general mobilization of the people for the fulfilment of these tasks cannot be imagined without definite reforms penetrating to the roots of the old and decayed society that could not and would not abandon its old way of life.

This development on the internal plane was accompanied by definite moves in foreign policy. The new Government and its regime realised that it would be illusory to insist on a struggle for the modernization of the State until the basic elements of its sovereignty had been ensured. It became quite clear that it would be absolutely necessary to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts: internal and external. In order to ensure unhindered progressive development at home and carry out a series of reforms, the nation had first to put an end to the state of complete national dependence on foreign countries, to reject the dictation of the foreign master.

For a full two years Egypt conducted negotiations for the evacuation of British tro-

ops from the Suez Canal zone. These talks were the continuation of efforts, extending over a number of years, which former Egyptian Governments had pursued along similar lines. This time the other side saw quite clearly that it was no longer possible to speculate on further internal changes in Egypt, on disorder, unrest and corrupt politicians. Thus an agreement was reached — an agreement which terminated the seventy-year old occupation of Egypt, and opened an era of the full sovereignty of Cairo over the entire country.

The agreement of 1953 on the evacuation of British-Egyptian forces from the Sudan, as well as the energetic, farsighted attitude of Cairo on the fulfilment of its clauses correctly and within the stated time, ensured full independence for Egypt's neighbour on the Nile as from January 1, 1956. Thus both countries freed themselves from foreign occupation, and were able to work on the solution of common urgent problems themselves.

The later moves of Nasser's Government for the strengthening of the true independence of the country led to the purchase of arms were they could be obtained without political conditions, the development of trade relations with the rest of the world, and the forming of political links with countries which showed their readiness to strive together with Egypt, for equal relations with

pable of organizing an internal movement in the rest of the world. The beginning of this Egyptian policy can be traced back to the Bandung Conference, where Nasser by his reasonable and constructive attitude contributed in no small measure to the success of the first meeting of the liberated African-Asian nations, their national communities, and their leaders.

This independent and reasonable policy of the new Egyptian regime did not answer the expectations and wishes of the former masters, occupiers and rulers of the Middle East. And it is just here that one should look for the real causes of their belligerent attitude towards Nasser's action in connection with the nationalization of the Suez Canal. This actually served as a long awaited pretext for the squaring of accounts, by force of arms with Nasser and the republican regime in Egypt.

The Middle East is also known as an area where many disputes are usually solved by coups d'état and subversive action. Incapable of organizing an internal movement in

Egypt — a movement that would operate in favour of alien interests — the foreign powers resorted to open aggression. When this aggression completely failed, and when no benefits or advantages could be reaped from it, the old methods were resorted to. An intensive study of the situation in Jordan indicated the possibility of a successful conspiracy in that country. It was not accidental that Jordan and Egypt were the object of a simultaneous action. In April, the reactionary aims of the Amman politicians and their foreign protectors were successfully attained. In Egypt, however, the conspiracy was shattered by the unity of the people and their Government. Its unmasking and recent statements regarding the aims of the conspirators showed clearly real character of this attempt to overthrow the regime and Government in Egypt. Nasser, however, found sufficient strength to put down this rebellion at the very start, and to engage the broad masses of the people in its exposure. By their participation in the parliamentary elections, these masses once again expressed

their approval of the five-year policy of the revolutionary Government.

There is no doubt that past developments in Egypt indicate the first broad engagement and participation of the masses in the management of the state and national affairs of the country. At the same time — for the first time after many centuries — the needs and interests of the people were taken into consideration. The lively, stirring development which is taking place in this country on the Nile — one of the oldest states in the world — is exercising a strong influence on events throughout the Arab world, and is becoming a serious element in international affairs.

Whether one recognises or not Egypt's leadership among the Arabs, the fact that revolution has triumphed in the largest Arab country, and that for five years now Egypt has lived in full freedom and sovereignty, indicates the essential and qualitative changes in this part of the world which, until recently was a „free hunting ground“ of certain great powers.

THE INQUIRY INTO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

EUROPE TODAY AND TOMORROW

— INTRODUCTION TO A DISCUSSION ON INTEGRATION —

The times is past when progressive men of scientific and social thought whose intellects were far in advance of their times dreamed of the day when the world would be a united and an indivisible whole. The development of science and technology, in which the first steam engine is a thing of the distant past, has increased the productivity of labour so much that we are now entering a new era, the era of atomic energy, of the unpredictable and unrestricted prosperity of the family of men.

The barriers of backwardness and autarchy, which divide states and nations for so long a time and made our planet a heterogeneous economic and social community, have been destroyed by economic progress towards the unity of the world. In this historical development distances have been shortened, and no nation is remote in its isolation; the one time sporadic ties of neighbouring countries have developed into vital international relations; the uniform development of all parts of the world has become a condition of the progress and advance of all nations; and peace and international cooperation are indivisible and common to all.

We live in an age in which the achievements of technical and scientific civilization, together with the free action of economic laws confront the states with the necessity of ever more intensive integration. And integration is being spontaneously realized in various forms in economy, culture and politics: in all spheres of human activity. Subjective political factors are endeavouring to adjust this development to their own needs and patterns, emphasizing that they face problems of far reaching significance. Thus, dilemmas crop up and conflicts take place between different conceptions which most often bear the stamp of a political reality which is far from being the adequate expression of objective development in contemporary society.

In this movement towards integration a particular place is occupied by Europe, which has always played a significant role in the world. In these days of great historical events, Europe's international economic importance, and its position in

present day developments is of special interest.

In view of the economic, political and cultural trends of integrations, and of the achievements already made in this field in Europe, the Editors of the „Review of International Affairs“ consider that a discussion of various aspects of integration would be useful, not only because it would reveal different and conflicting view on the matter, but also because it would indicate the common interests which now induce the European nations to establish ever closer relations with one another.

In this issue we publish a contribution on the subject by Van Zeeland, the prominent Belgian economist and ardent advocate of European integration. We have also received articles on the subject by Leon Macca, former Greek Minister, by Francois Perroux, the wellknown French economist, and by William Rappoport, the prominent Swiss economist. These articles will be published in our following issues.

BRAVE AND NEW SOLUTIONS

Paul Van ZEELAND



1. What are your views of the ways that lead to European integration and how do you estimate the present initiatives and concrete forms which appear in this sense?

Europe has emerged from the sphere of dreams and wishes and its roots have taken firm hold of reality. The organs of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg have come to life and they are gradually although perhaps too slowly, justifying their existence to an ever greater extent.

There can be no doubt however that their psychological effect is becoming stronger from day to day.

Europe can no longer be imagined without them.

Apart from this, other organizations have also been created which are already in the

position to satisfy some of the needs of a future Europe. In this connection one should primarily mention the European Coal and Steel Community.

Today after the bleak days which witnessed the rejection of the European Defence Community, we are faced by a big hope, — the creation of a Common Market.

In spite of all these facts which inspire us with hope for the future we should not delude ourselves: we are still far from our goal.

The big powers outside of Europe and among us still openly or covertly oppose the realization of a united Europe, an Europe worthy of its past and its eternal mission.

Precisely for this reason, instead of flagging in our endeavours we should continue our efforts on this undertaking with greater energy and persistence than ever before.

Europe will be created precisely because it must be created.

2. What should a future Europe be like in your opinion and which problems should be resolved in order to lay the solid foundations for European unity?

The crux of many problems which face the world still consists of European issues, primarily the problem of German unification. One cannot expect any definite harmonization of East-West relations nor lasting coexistence without the solution of this problem. Can anyone believe in the actual solution of the disarmament problem as long as the problem of divided Germany looms overhead like a somber cloud?

In my opinion German unification, the creation of a United Europe and the general reduction of armaments constitute problems which are mutually interconnected in no small degree and which require coordinated solutions.

We need a realistic plan which would take in account the existing possibilities and their limitations, which would rely on new and hold solutions while not losing sight of the experiences provided by history in this respect.

This is why the moment for European unity should create its philosophy as soon as possible, formulate a programme of action and wholly utilize the existing possibilities, clearly define its aims, avoid problems of a purely theoretical character, seek its support in the economic reality and strive towards

the development of European forces in all directions both material and moral.

3. In this context the problem of European Security stands out in bold relief. How do you envisage such a system of European security which would do away with the fear of war and political conflicts and enable the peoples of Europe to devote their material and spiritual resources to peaceful development and common progress?

It is possible to devise solutions to the problem of European security which would not threaten the main interests nor clash with them, thus implying such a security system which would include the fundamental conceptions of both sides.

There are two such conceptions which have advantage over all others.

The first refers to the application of one of the formulas of demilitarization, the neutralization of a territorial zone which would intersect Europe. This would be supplemented by the limitation of the number and type of troops in the contiguous areas on the East and West with the demilitarized „glacier“ zone.

This hypothesis might also make it possible to end the political division of Germany while at the same time the troops of the two antagonistic groups would be separated from each other by a wide area.

All these changes would be in favour of defensive and reduce the possibilities of aggression in favour of either group.

The second version is reminiscent of the Locarno formula. The newly created situation in the geographical and political plane should remain unchanged over the next ten year period.

This double „status quo“ would be guaranteed by all reciprocally, so that each individual party would act as guarantor towards all others, and respect the obligations jointly assumed.

Whatever the case, I believe that the West should define its attitude without delay and formulate it by means of a joint programme in a form similar to the draft I have proposed previously.

As for myself, I cannot find any genuine for the postponement of talks after the lapse of the necessary time for the implementation of effective and coordinated preparations.



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Latest Papal Encyclic on African Problems

Dr. Milan BARTOŠ

PROFESSOR OF THE FEEGRADE UNIVERSITY

THE attitude taken by the Pope towards nascent nationalism in Africa in his Easter Encyclical gave rise to considerable interest throughout the African continent during the past three months. A new tendency of checking the right of the African peoples to their national development is manifested in the encyclical which represents an attempt even at the last moment to save by an appeal to humanism the remaining positions of the imperialist powers which are crumbling under the ever stronger onrush of the national liberation movements in Africa.

The attitude of the Vatican towards world events could always be summed up as follows: for Christianity, and against those who are struggling against the systems concealed by the veil of Christianity and the Cross.

We have listened to similar statements by Marshal Smuts in the capacity of representative of the Government of the Union of South Africa on the civilising role of the white race and Christianity in the Union of South Africa. They contended that the peoples of the white race within the framework of the Union, although constituting the absolute minority expect the support of the United Nations in their conflict with the negro majority, so as to be able to continue their civilizing mission, the propagation of the true doctrine of Christ in the future mentality of the awakened savages. Such a concept was alien to us and we could not understand that the deprivation of the majority of its rights on its own soil can be explained in favour of a minority thus, that the majority is stripped of all rights which are transferred to a minority consisting of other peoples, which have assumed the historical, but not legal mission to raise the African peoples to a higher level which they would be unable to reach by themselves.

Eleven years have passed since then. The idea of the right of peoples to self determination has gained ever greater currency throughout the world. An immense change has taken place in the status of the colonies. The emancipation of the colonies, the creation of new states, the abolishment of vassalage, — are increasing the number of free members of the international community from day to day. The process is not ended, however. It is growing more acute in all cases where it was not possible to reach a peaceful solution. The African continent was the site of conflict during the past two years. Conflict broke out everywhere, in the North where Morocco and Tunisia have already been liberated, in Central Africa, where Great Britain is attempting by means of colonial federations to reform its administration and alleviate the colonial struggle, relying on the more moderate elements willing to prolong the colonial system in a concealed form; on the Gold Coast where thanks to the prompt intervention of Great Britain the conditions for the emancipation of Ghana became ripe; in the Union of South Africa where a struggle in all forms is continuing. The attitude of Egypt in the defence of her sovereign rights also influence the force of the African action.

With the maze of these complex events, the Vatican deemed it expedient to intervene by its moral force. Its words were or should be those of the Gospel: Men as brothers should seek new forms of cooperation, while not bearing any hatred towards foreigners. Xenophobia should be condemned. But is the explosion of invaders and uninvited colonisers xenophobia? The African people should be milder towards those who are waging a struggle against their freedom. There is no mention of the fact that those who are holding power against the will of people should alleviate the struggle by restituting to these peoples what has been taken from them. The Catholics laws struggle lest the African peoples disturb the divine laws, those laws which always entitled the white men to ruthlessly exploit the black and dominate them. According to the century old colonial policy

of ruthlessness and the readiness rather to exterminate the native population than abandon the territory acquired, the inhabitants of these same regions should play fair and treat yesterdays oppressors as their brothers. There can be no doubt that it would be better if it were possible to achieve this — but it would be still better if this has also been previously the case.

The African peoples are reproved for their lack of culture, the spontaneity of their struggle and cruelty towards their masters of yesterday. We have probably climbed to a higher level of civilization when Europe through the Pope preaches to Africa that it should forget that no principles of international law were valid in colonial wars until yesterday, not even the principles of humanity of the laws of war. The peoples who have embarked on the struggle for freedom should be checked, and instead of weapons should Africa dedicate itself to prayers.

Such conceptions of the encyclical are equivalent to the denunciation of the right to self determination and the negation of the right of the people to freedom and to constitute an obstacle to the liquidation of colonialism. If the white peoples were entitled to the ruthless destruction of the political ambitions and national rights of the peoples of other races, then it is too early today to expect that the African peoples in the present phase of awakening and struggle will be able to forget the ills done them through the centuries and renounce not only the struggle for independence but also the restitution of the goods they were deprived of and on which their existence depends.

If you talk with the representatives of these peoples and ask them what they have against the colonists, why are they struggling against the colonist, why are they struggling in their fight for freedom against plantations converted into fortresses, then they will answer quietly that their liberation is not only the organization of the state on a territory but also the restitution of the people of those natural resources and cultivable land which was theirs since time immemorial and in whose restitution they see their freedom and existence. They do not wish to become the masters of states within which the plantations of yesterdays rules would remain as a festering sore on their soil. Liberation from them also implies means the abolishment of deprivation, impoverishment, of all that deprived them of a life worthy of man. The restitution of these natural resources the reacquisition of the most fertile land is an integral part of the liberation struggle of the African peoples.

Why is not an appeal made to the colonists in the name of Christianity to realize at last the unjustness of their position, and why are they not exhorted to return what does not belong to them, instead of appealing to the victims to be merciful and patient, susceptible to the influence of yesterdays actual masters and begetate in the future steeped in the admiration of the cultural achievements of those who have lawlessly seized their land. To restitute what is lost, expel those who gave illegally settled on their soil those are the goals set by the African fighters for national liberation. The speak of cooperation before a balance is struck, before just relations are established this tantamount to the defence of the positions of those who hold them illegally. On the international plane the struggle for emancipation of a people means the elimination of colonial vestiges to such an extent that the colonial system is destroyed and that it be replaced by a system of democratic institutions of free people. Why we seek to expel from our land those who seized it from us, when we are fighting for our nationality and territory we are struggling to get what belongs to us in our country. Anyone who wishes to preserve that does not belong to him is an obstacle on the road to freedom. In as far as these obstacles are eliminated, in as far as they strive to maintain them by force, the more ruthless the struggle will be and the more every remaining foreigner

will become the object of hatred. Xenophobia is not therefore of savagery in this case, but a means the conclusion of the struggle. We are opposed to xenophobia, but on both sides. And if we contemplate the hatred of two peoples as an objective fact, then we will put the blame for it on those who are restricting freedom and who wish to retain what is seized, and not those who are struggling for the restoration of freedom and the reacquisition of the goods stolen from them.

The Catholic church should be aware of the fact that it penetrated into Africa together with colonialism, as an instrument for the pacification of the oppressed. It is in a certain sense a component part of the system which denies of freedom of the oppressed tribes and peoples. The struggle of these tribes and peoples is no special phenomenon but a liquidation of all remnants and forms of colonial abuse. As the Balkan peoples within the framework of their liberation struggle once fought against the consequences of moslimization, while now proclaiming this islamization among the remaining members of this religion as a manifestation of freedom of religious confession for all, it is certain at the present stage, that certain African peoples tend to identify all that is an integral part of the general system of the colonial masters.

Africa was the object of external missions of the Vatican for decades and the missionaries of all christian sects, — with a special apparatus of the Catholic church for the achievement of this external mission, — inevitably represented a cog in this occupying machinery. When a historical system is being destroyed when all its parts are demolished. The structure of a people is changed by the demolition of the colonial system, not only the political but also the economic position of yesterdays natives changes as they

become the masters, while yesterdays masters either withdraw or are exposed to a renewed pressure of the liberating forces.

If the Catholic church was inspired by the idea of international fraternity it would have long since ceased to be what it is. It would defend the right of the natives not only as colonial inhabitants, but also the peoples capable of self-government. It allowed itself however to become a means for the propagation of the doctrine of oppression and the suppression of national consciousness. Therefore such influence are disrupted by the growth of national consciousness.

What is true in the Papal Encyclical is that the revolt of the peoples which are struggling for freedom against the oppressors exists. If one wishes to suppress antagonism, then both sides should be guided towards a peaceful solution, the peaceful withdrawal of the invaders from the soil of the African peoples which demand freedom and independence. Thus the encyclical registered a phenomenon, but which neither provided a solution nor a correct explanation of the reasons underly in this phenomenon.

There is no doubt that it would be better if there were no xenophobia. There is also no doubt, that xenophobia will disappear in as far as the just claims, of the peoples are satisfied, but it is no less certain that the extension of support to the oppressors cannot create an atmosphere in which the oppressed will be merciful towards oppressors.

Vatican solidarized once again with the remnants of imperialism which has not abandoned hope and that it will retain its position in Africa. Therefore the African peoples could not remain indifferent towards an action which in fact means the denunciation of the response to violence and not the condemnation of violence as such.

LABOUR PARTY AND COLONIAL POLICY

Barbara CASTLE

LABOUR M.P. IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

LAST year the Labour Party Conference adopted a document on colonial policy called „The Plural Societies“ which committed the next Labour Government to a wide extension of political independence for the colonies. But the Labour Party believes that the granting of political independence without economic preparation could be disastrous — it would merely mean that colony after colony „hived off“ from Britain while it was too weak to fight its economic battles alone, and so would either founder or be drawn into dependence on one of the economic giants of the world — Russia or America. It is because of this that the Labour Party has now produced a further policy statement on colonial economic policy. As Socialists we believe that freedom can never be interpreted in terms of political constitutions alone: it must have an economic basis. The purpose of our new document, therefore, is to outline the ways in which a Labour Government would build up the economic strength of the colonies in preparation for independence and to define the new economic relationships which we hope to achieve between Britain and the newly independent territories of her former Empire.

In the early days of imperial rule the colonies were developed as economic appendages to the mother country. They provided an unlimited supply of cheap labour which was entirely dependent on the supply of capital from Britain for its economic development. This capital found its way into enterprises which brought high profits and quick returns into plantation crops and the extraction of minerals. The surplus flowed back to Britain, while wages and standards of living in the colonies remained desperately low, and there was no planned economic development — not even any re-

cognition of British responsibility to raise these standards.

The colonies were expected to be financially „self-supporting“, meeting all the expenses of administration, and of what meagre social services existed, from their own revenues. Moreover, under laissez faire conditions of trade, the prices of their primary products fluctuated disastrously. The price of Gold Coast cocoa, for instance, fell from 40 pounds per ton in 1920 to under 20 pounds in 1934 — prices of Nigerian cocoa, palm oil, kernels and ground nuts followed the same catastrophic trends. Since these export prices were the main source of the colonial governments' revenue, there could be no hope of raising social or economic standards in the face of this insecurity. It is not surprising, therefore, poverty, disease and ignorance were the keynotes of colonial life.

Even before the last war, the Labour Party in the House of Commons was drawing attention to these conditions and demanding action. Its main demand was for the recognition of the need to plan the economic development of the colonies, to abandon the old approach of combining laissez — faire economic with grudging dollops of charity. The passing of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act by the war-time Government of 1940 was the first tentative recognition of Britain's responsibility. The return to office of a Labour Government in 1945 marked a new phase of economic thinking about the colonies.

Despite its harrassing preoccupation with its own problems of post-war survival, the Labour Government of 1945 struggled to face up to what needed to be done. It had first of all to provide the elementary foundations without which colonial planning would be impossible — statistical records,

geological surveys, research services, technical training and so on. As a result of this pioneer work it was able to encourage colonial governments to draw up their own development schemes. It also, through its Colonial Development and Welfare Acts made, direct grants to the colonies for providing the social equipment, such as schools, roads, housing and hospitals without which no economic development could take place. And by establishing the Colonial Development Corporation, which was empowered to lend money to colonial governments for approved development schemes, it recognised the fact that private enterprise could never, produce balanced economic development in the colonies, and that public investment must fill the gap.

Most important of all, it recognised that the crying need for the colonies was for price stability for their primary products. The bulk purchase agreements introduced during the war, under which the British government bought colonial products at stable guaranteed prices, were made a permanent part of Labour's colonial policy. For the first time the palm oil producer of Nigeria, the worker in the West Indies sugar industry and the cocoa grower of the Gold Coast began to enjoy a new security, and in return Britain was able to free herself from dangerous dependence on dollar supplies. Between 1948 and 1952 Britain's imports from the sterling area rose by 25% while her imports from the dollar area fell by 6%. Without these mutually beneficial arrangements Britain would never have weathered her post-war financial crises even to the extent she did.

All this was a start on the right road, but the Labour Party has always recognised that it was inadequate. By 1954, for example, 34 colonies had between them received 88 million pounds in grants under the 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, compared with a total cost of nearly 527 million pounds for their development plans. The rest has had to be raised out of their own funds or out of loans. Our achievements fell behind our vision. As late as 1955 the grand total of British colonial grants (including contributions through the Colombo Plan and the U.N. Technical Assistance Programme) was less than 20 million pounds out of a national budget of 5,000 million.

But since the Conservative Government returned to power in 1951, the colonies have faced even more serious dangers. Wherever possible, the Government has been winding up the bulk purchase agreements which Labour negotiated. Once again the colonial producer faces insecurity at the very moment when the post war boom in the prices of his products has ended and when he most needs the protection of long term agreements. Moreover the Government has been trying to deal with the consequences of inflation at home by a policy of dear money and high interest rates which have put a crippling burden on colonial development. Many worthwhile projects in the colonies have had to be abandoned because they could not produce a commercial return at an interest rate of 5%. Above all, Britain has not been creating a financial or physical surplus from which she can expand Commonwealth investment. It has been estimated that we should be investing at least 250 pounds to 350 million pounds a year in our colonial territories and in those territories which have recently won their independence. Instead of this our net capital exports from Britain, of kinds and to all countries, averaged only 60 billion pounds a year in the three years 1953 — 1955. But if we starve them of capital the territories now moving steadily towards self-government will look elsewhere for help and they may be obliged to attract private foreign capital on terms and conditions which belie all the social aims for which the Labour Party has been fighting.

This, then, is the challenge which faces the next Labour Government. What are we going to do about it? How are we

going to lift the vast burden of poverty, illiteracy and disease? Are we going to allow political freedom in the colonies to lead increasingly to their economic isolation? Or are we going to save the Commonwealth by what Mr. Bandaranaike has called "the conscious stimulation of common interests". In its new colonial economic policy the Labour Party has pledged itself to replace the old Imperial tie by the creation of a "co-operative Commonwealth" and has tried to face the cost. This will call for two great efforts on Britain's part. The first is financial. We must increase the present ludicrously inadequate level of grants and loans to the colonies (and to other under developed areas). The document, therefore pledges the next Labour Government to announce at once plans to expand Britain's aid by allocating 1% of our national income as Britain's contribution to the development of the backward and colonial territories of the world. It may not, of course, be possible to spend this sum — which at our present level of national income would amount to about 160 million pounds per year — all at once. Steps would have to be taken first to create the physical resources to meet this new demand, to find the experts, train the technicians and to draw up the detailed schemes. Nonetheless, we are making a specific pledge that we will in future devote this proportion of our national income, if necessary as an average over a number of years, to making the economic development of our colonies a reality.

Through what agencies should this increased help be channelled? The Labour Party has always supported the idea of S.U.N.F.E.D. and the next Labour Government would immediately announce its willingness to make a contribution to the fund if other countries would co-operate with us in setting it up. But we do not intend to hold up our colonial development plan while the United Nations carries on a long-drawn-out argument about S.U.N.F.E.D. We shall begin at once to increase our aid through existing agencies such as our own Colonial Development and Welfare schemes, the Colombo Plan, and the technical assistance programme of the United Nations. If S.U.N.F.E.D. were to be launched we would increasingly divert our help through this new medium, but we should first of all want to make sure that the Fund avoided some of the deficiencies of the existing U.N. organizations. For instance, we should press for the creation of an international Civil Service which would be recruited by competitive examination on the basis of merit rather than nationality. Britain has no margin of resources spare for international schemes which are wastefully run or tangled in red tape.

The financial commitment which we make in this document is a heavy one. The Labour Party is already committed to increase Britain's investment in her own industries and also to expand our own social services. It will be no easy matter to set aside an additional 160 million pounds a year for the colonies. Nor is it easy in a democracy to get the electors to vote for colonial developments which will mean some reduction in their own immediate standard of life. The second effort Britain will have to make, therefore, is in the realm of ideas. The Labour Party will have to persuade the people of Britain of their moral responsibility to raise the living standards of the colonial peoples. Equally important, it will have to demonstrate to them the dangers to the Commonwealth of the Conservative Government's laissez faire policies. What the colonies need more than anything else is assured markets and stable prices for their own products. This is the only way in which they will get the strength to stand on their own feet. This means that instead of leaving import policy in the hands of private traders, the Government will once again have to intervene by negotiating long-term agreements with colonial producers. The Labour Party also believes that private enterprise and private investment have failed, and must fail, to meet the special needs of the colonies because they are primarily interested in extracting resources for profit rather than in developing re-

sources to meet the balanced long-term needs of the colonies themselves. It therefore proposes to expand public investment through the Colonial Development Corporation by increasing its funds and by extending its powers so that it can operate in the newly independent territories such as Ghana as well as in the dependent colonies. The Labour Party also recognises that the overriding need of backward territories is to obtain loans at rates of interest they can afford to pay and the document declares that Britain must make loans at specially low rates of interest available for colonial development.

In all these ways the next Labour Government will deliberately seek to bind the Commonwealth together by new and voluntary ties of economic help and co-operation. Until the ideal of world government can be realised the British Commonwealth offers a unique opportunity of creating a voluntary association of people of different races, jointly pursuing the Socialist vision of the equality of man irrespective of colour,

racess or creed. In our view such a vision can only be realised by Socialist policies — by the encouragement of co-operative methods in agriculture and trades, by trade unionism, by planned economic development, and high social standards in housing, education and health services. It would be fatal if, in their search for economic survival, the colonies were to be driven to pursue economic progress at the price of bad labour standards, low wages, de-population of the land all the social tragedies which accompanied the capitalist development in its early days in the West. That is why the Labour Party believes that the colonies will need the closest possible economic association with Britain until they have the strength to stand on their own feet. Labour's new colonial policy, therefore is a charter of economic co-operation within the Commonwealth which will ensure that political freedom for the colonies does not merely mean that they substitute new masters for the old,

Pre-Election Dilemmas in Western Germany

Janko ŽIVIC

SOON the West German voters will — for the third time after the foundation of the Federal Republic — go to the polls and record their opinion about the programmes of the country's leading political parties for the next four-year period. Practically speaking however, the matter rests between the Adenauer government and the Social-Democratic opposition. The Free Democrats cannot reckon with any major success, and their role after the elections will depend on the relative of strength of the two chief rivals, and in case of a narrow majority they may be a valuable ally of either side. The choice of the electorate will certainly be influenced by numerous factors — many of which are of a purely political nature, but questions of economic and foreign policy will be of decisive importance in the decision of every individual voter.

The government appears before the electorate with many good results, but also with some unsettled problems. Soon after the second Adenauer government came to office significant changes took place in the international situation: the cold war ended and a more tranquil and favourable atmosphere was created in international relations so that it was possible to approach the solving of outstanding world problems and disputes by negotiation. Since then the international position of Western Germany has improved, mainly through the efforts of the government to consolidate the position of the Federal Republic by strengthening its role in the Western bloc, so that official Bonn has been the most ardent advocate of bloc politics, and the ally of the United States and other Western powers. In these endeavours Adenauer had considerable success. Western Germany joined the Atlantic pact and the West European Union, and now it is an equal partner of the leading powers in these organisations, and its economic potential is the greater than any other country's in Western Europe. The determination and implementation of Western policy in Europe has become dependent thanks to the support of the Bonn government.

Now, twelve years after the country's total defeat in the war, of Western policy in Europe has become dependent that to the Atlantic Pact, which will have to count more and more on German units, now that Great Britain and France have decreased their forces in Western Germany. Even the question of supplying the German army with nuclear weapons is now on the agenda, and such weapons may soon be introduced in Germany, unless, of course, an agreement on disarmament is concluded in the meantime. It must be said, however, that this development, particularly in regard to atomic armament, has not been well received by the public; on the contrary, it has only increased the people's fears of possible repercussions in and outside Germany.

Western Germany has established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, but no one can say that any commendable progress has been made in the political ties between Bonn and Moscow; there are still great differences and disagreements between them, especially in the problem of German reunification. Bonn refuses to establish diplomatic relations with other East European countries, saying that such a step would imply the recognition of Eastern Germany.

Great results have been attained in the home economic field. The country's economic prosperity continues to expand: the national income, productivity and trade are increasing in spite of occasional difficulties which manifest themselves in certain inflationary tendencies and threats. A serious problem is, however, created by the fact that the workers are demanding higher wages, that the employers reject their demands although profits are constantly growing. Nevertheless, the present prosperity, which is to be heightened by rearmament, will certainly be one of the arguments which the government will use to solicit votes and belittle the significance of less favourable trends, such as the increasingly greater mergers and monopoly trusts in the economy, the insufficient social protection of the economically weaker sections of the population, etc, whose solution is demanded by the opposition. It is noteworthy that in their election campaign the Social Democrats are, on the whole, satisfied with demanding only minor modifications in the country's economic policy, probably being aware that any demand for radical changes would not appeal to the electorate. They only say that the chief sources of energy should be placed under some kind of public control, and that state owned enterprises should not be turned into private companies.

The chief national problem of the German people, however — the reunification of the country — remains unsettled, and there are no chances of its being solved soon. For years now, the government and the opposition have not been able to agree on the policy and methods which should be applied to bring about the realization of this aim.

As is known, Adenauer maintains that it is necessary to implement the so-called policy of strength, so as to force the Soviet Union to accept Western views on the problem. The government says that reunification must be achieved by free elections, and that united Germany should be free to determine its attitude towards the blocs, which means that the whole of Germany would join the Atlantic Pact. Adenauer, it is true, has now modified this policy, and he is ready to offer certain guarantees to the Soviet Union on condition that it accepts the proposals of the Western powers which it has hitherto found unacceptable.

Social Democrats, on the other hand, consider that the reunification of the country cannot be achieved without establishing, at the same time a European system of security, which should replace both the Atlantic and the Warsaw pacts. This system of security, in their opinion, should be guaranteed by the United States and the Soviet Union, and should be linked with an agreement on disarmament. As far as free elections, and the methods to be applied in reuniting the country, are concerned, both the government and the opposition hold identical views, the only difference being that the Social Democrats accept the possibility of retaining certain achievements of social development in Eastern Germany. Otherwise, the opinion do not exist two German states and governments, that the Federal Republic is the only legitimate representative of the German people in international relations, is upheld by all the political parties in the Federal Republic.

The fundamental questions of foreign policy are given top priority in the election campaign. Adenauer ardently insists on Germany's need to participate in the Atlantic Pact, and he criticizes the Social Democrats, saying that their policy, if implemented, would undermine the Pact and destroy Germany, to which Olenhauer reacts sharply, etc. etc.

In the last few months the Bonn government has been giving a great deal of attention to three problems. These are the disarmament talks, the atomic armament of the West Germany army, and trade talks with the Soviet Union. Since these three problems have become particularly acute, both the government and the opposition are forced to take them into account in their election campaigns.

One of the fundamental views of the official policy makers in the Federal Republic is that world tension can be relaxed, and East-West relations improved, only by re-uniting Germany. The gradual progress in the disarmament talks at first confronted Adenauer with the problem: would it, be useful for the Bonn government to insist that the problem of disarmament should be solved simultaneously with the problem of Germany? But the Chancellor has again proved that he can grasp the reality of the situation and adjust his policy to current needs without giving up his fundamental conceptions.

During his stay in Washington he endeavoured to find out just what concessions the United States was willing to make to the Soviet Union in order to achieve a measure of agreement, and to what extent it would continue to support the Western and Bonn plans for the solving of the German problem. The communique which was then issued was so formulated as to satisfy the interests of both countries, and to preserve their unity. An initial agreement on disarmament would not be made dependent on the solution of the German problem, but a general agreement could not be made without settling the problem of German reunification. In this way Adenauer parried assertions made in several quarters that Bonn was against a disarmament agreement, so that now he has ample possibilities for manoeuvring, which is of special importance in the election campaign. However, Bonn is in favour of a restricted disarmament agreement, particularly in the field of inspection zones, if they are to cover German territory as well. The government received the idea of such zones of inspection in Europe with certain reservations; it did not reject it, but it did not accept it fully either. Adenauer has made it known that such zones are closely linked with the problem of a security system in Europe, which cannot be organized without solving the German problem, i. e., that an agreement on inspection should encourage the first steps in the unification of Germany.

On the other hand, the Bonn government has energetically rejected the Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of Atlantic Pact forces from German territory, since it considers these troops to be essential for the security of the Federal Republic. The government has also approved the stationing on its territory of Atlantic troops equipped with nuclear weapons.

The controversy over the problem of atomic armaments has been going on in the Federal Republic for a long time. The government's announcement that the West German army may soon be equipped with tactical atomic weapons, and that in due time it may also receive heavy atomic weapons, such as, for instance, the hydrogen bomb, have been sharply criticised by the opposition parties and by the public.

The Social Democrats are resolutely against atomic armaments; they demand that the Federal Republic should renounce such armaments for all time. This attitude is in accordance with the general policy of the Social-Democratic party, which considers that German

reunification would be made possible by relaxing international tension, by concluding a disarmament agreement which would prohibit the production of atomic weapons, and by setting up a system of security to replace the bloc formation in the East and in the West. The Social Democrats say that if they win the election, they will abolish compulsory military service, renounce atomic weapons, and endeavour to revise — by negotiations with the Western allies — the country's military obligations, if it should prove possible to create a system of general security in which a united Germany would participate.

In face of this formidable opposition the government has been forced to modify its views on atomic armament but, in an answer to the Soviet Union, it has refused to renounce atomic armament until a general agreement on disarmament is concluded. In other words, the pace and policy in Germany's rearmament will largely depend on the progress of the disarmament talks.

As far as relations with the Soviet Union are concerned, trade talks have already begun between the two countries. Bonn originally made a condition of these talks the prior repatriation of an allegedly large number of German nationals from the Soviet Union — a proposal which the Soviet Union rejected, suggesting in turn the consideration of mutual exchanges, i. e., the repatriation of Soviet nationals from Western Germany and of German nationals from the Soviet Union. It is uncertain, however, whether the German-Soviet talks in Moscow will lead to the conclusion of any agreement on matters discussed, either before or after the elections. But, the conclusion of such an agreement would be a step further in Soviet-German relations, and it would encourage the two countries to approach the solving of even more important problems.

It must be admitted that the programmes put forward by both the government and the opposition in the election campaign are clearly formulated, especially in relation to the fundamental problems over which they disagree. Which of these programmes will be approved by the electorate will be seen in September.



INTERNATIONAL BELGRADE FAIR

On August 23, exactly 20 years after the inauguration of the First International Fair of Beograd, the new Beograd fairground will be opened with the International Exhibition of Technics and Technical Realisations. From August 23 to September 2, 1957 this exhibition will represent a further contribution to the international collaboration, the time by exchange of experiences within the scope of technical sciences of which Beograd is becoming an important technical centre more and more.

The new Beograd fairground disposes of capacities, which can entirely satisfy all the exhibitors, business men and visitors. Having a surface of 300.000 sq.m. in totals from which 84.000 sq.m. are adapted for the needs of the exhibitors and with about 45.000 sq.m. under halls, the Beograd fairground represents a most up-to-date constructional achievement, with its buildings which can be placed among the most modern in the World.

The international agreement and collaboration are, besides the explicit commercial feature, the principal slogans of the International Fair of Beograd — in fact, a shop-window both towards the East and the West.

THE PROBLEM OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

(PART II)

Dr. Slobodan BRANKOVIĆ

Situation of agricultural and raw material countries in international exchange and the general conditions of their development

THE present situation of under-developed countries in international exchange, in many respects directly results from the characteristic trend of development in the past. The tendencies of this development are one of the key problems confronting these countries, both as regards their international connections and their reflection on internal economic development.

A brief review of some characteristics of development in the economic situation will be useful in visualizing the complexity of the problem of relations and inter-dependence of agricultural and raw material countries in international exchanges, and some aspects of their internal economic development.

a) Causes and characteristic of unilateral development in under-development areas

The development of capitalism and the strengthening of economic connections brought about a process of suppression of numerous economic branches in those countries which failed to withstand the competition of developed industrial countries. Historically this process led to a steady narrowing down of economic activity in under-developed countries. The effect of the principle of comparative expenditures exercised a far-reaching influence on the trend of economic movements in the countries which lagged behind. The deeper capitalism penetrated into these countries, the more evident was the process toward ever narrower „specialization“ in production and exports, which often went as far as monoculture.

Whereas the process of specialization in developed countries was advantageous, providing opportunities for the rapid development of the productive forces, in under-developed countries this evolved on narrow lines and was in most cases accompanied by a series of harmful consequences. Huge areas were often reduced to plantations of tea, cotton, coffee, rubber plants etc., while exports of individual countries were almost completely confined to oil, tin, coffee or tea.

The character of the „specialization“ in the production of individual articles in certain under-developed countries was influenced by various natural factors (special quality of soil suitable only for certain cultures, abundance of a certain raw material etc.). But one should not lose sight of the fact that political factors also played an important role in this especially in colonies and dependent areas. They were often induced in one way or another, or even compelled to supply the Metropolis to the greatest possible extent with certain products or even a single article. Although the opportunities of the colonial powers to exercise direct influence on such regions were greatly reduced after the Second World War, there were many examples of insistence on the production of definite articles in their overseas possessions, in order to obviate the necessity of importing goods to the Metropolis from other currency areas.

Although one may refer, therefore, to the effect of other factors, the basic cause of an ever stronger tendency towards the one-sided development of the economy of backward countries, was undoubtedly the uneven development of capitalism, which assumed to definite character of the international division of labour with „specialization“ of huge areas on a very limited scale. It was only after the Great World Crisis (1929 — 1933) that certain important changes took place in this regard, but basically they remained no less vital and significant.

The exports of a number of countries consist almost entirely of a few articles, with the absolute preponderance of a single

product. In 1953 cotton constituted about 85 per cent of total Egyptian export. The export of tobacco and grapes from Greece, in 1955, made up about 59 per cent of that country's total export. Copper and nitrates came to about 78 per cent of Chile's export in 1954, while sugar and tobacco rose to 88 per cent of Cuba's overall export. Jute and cotton in the export of Pakistan in 1955 amounted to 72 per cent. In the same year Ceylon's export of tea, rubber and coconut products reached the figure of 91 per cent, while Indonesia's export showed a figure of 69 per cent for rubber and oil exports. Oil alone was in 1955 about 94 per cent of Venezuela's total export, 92 per cent of Iraq's total export, 87 per cent of export of Saudi Arabia, nearly 100 per cent of Kuwait's export. The process of ever greater concentration on the export of only a few products can be seen in many countries. Cotton and wool exports from Syria in 1937 constituted 16 per cent, while in 1955 they reached the figure of about 51 per cent of this country's total export. Rice and cotton in 1937 showed a figure of 44 per cent in Burma's export and in 1954 these exports rose to 84 per cent.

For agricultural and raw material countries the situation is even worse, in so far as the export of a small number of articles is accompanied by links with definite markets. Bolivia's export, say in 1955, showed a figure of 83 per cent in respect of tin, tungsten and lead, while 60 per cent of the overall Bolivian export went to the USA and Canada, and a further 33 per cent to Great Britain.

Although individual under-developed countries have progressed considerably in industrialization and diversity of products during the last few years, basic foreign exchange income sources are created, and in some cases will be set up for a long time to come, by raw material exports. The rapid rate of industrialization in Brazil, for instance, has not reduced the importance of coffee for securing exchange funds. Coffee, moreover, constitutes an even greater percentage of Brazil's overall export than was the case in certain pre-war years (34% in 1937, 61% in 1954). Internal economic development is consequently very closely connected with the movement of exports of the specialized articles with which the under-developed countries have figured so far on foreign markets. The conditions of their marketing regularly reveal a very strong influence on the movement of these countries economic life, and hence on the possibility of realizing their economic plans.

b) Trade exchange conditions and instability of raw material markets

It is not necessary to make an especially intensive study of the volume of export and sale prices of articles of under-developed countries to notice the very sharp fluctuation and instability of their export markets in the products of agricultural and raw material countries. Longterm movements and the operation of individual factors, call for a detailed examination.

Despite a scarcity of statistics on the movement of prices of raw material products and their relation to the prices of industrial articles, there are, nevertheless, some figures that can be accepted as approximately correct. They often provide significant indications about the long-term tendency of the movement of export prices. The conclusion that can be drawn from these figures is that the relation of prices of primary products during the last few decades, constantly declined in relation to prices of industrial products — though with certain exceptions.

The collected statistics and reckonings of UN experts, as published in the book entitled „Relation of Export and Import Prices in Under-Developed Countries (1949) provide a very interesting review

of the movement of prices and their inter-relation; beginning from the latter half of last century. According to these data, the index of price relations between primary products and industrial goods in world trade fell from 147 in the 1876 — 1880 period, to 118 in 1929 (1938 = 100). This deterioration of trade conditions in agricultural and raw material countries was particularly evident in exchanges with Great Britain. The same index in exchanges with Great Britain fell from 122. The conclusion to be drawn from an examination of these data is that strengthening of monopolism and sharpening of competition between developed industrial countries led to ever greater pressure on the raw material prices. At that time one could already speak about the operation of some non-economic factors which had an unfavourable effect on trade exchange conditions of agricultural and raw material countries.

The situation deteriorated particularly after the great world slump and the Second World War. This came after the breakdown of the world financial system based on the convertibility of currencies, the collapse of the multilateral system of payment and the introduction of a series of measures for foreign currency control and protection of the domestic market. It was also a period of general instability and economic stagnation in nearly all developed capitalist countries (except the fascist ones). It suffices to refer to statistics (in the economic publications of the League of Nations) which show that the index of industrial production in the world changed from 100 in 1929 to 96.4 in 1936, to 103.7 in 1937 and to 93 in 1938. The index of price relations of primary products, as against the prices of industrial goods in international exchanges, oscillated further, from 118 in 1929 to 89 in 1932, to 98 in 1935, 108 in 1937 and to 100 in 1938. According to the calculations of UNO economic experts, the agricultural and raw material countries were in a position, just before the Second War, to buy for the same quantity of exported primary products, only 60 per cent of industrial goods, compared to the situation toward the end of the last century.

A number of facts show that the economic stagnation in developed capitalist countries in that period was only one of a series of factors affecting the unfavourable movement of export prices for agricultural and raw material countries. The organized pressure of the private capitalist monopolies, in this period, was supplemented by a system of state capitalist measures, which not infrequently led to a further artificial modification of prices in exchanges with economically weaker partners. Although numerous attempts were made in under-developed countries to paralyze the above mentioned effect by an organized stand of export merchants dealing in primary products and by a corresponding state activity towards stabilization of prices of the principal export products, the effect of these attempts was, in the majority cases, only partial and inadequate. More efficacious measures for the maintenance of prices could be taken only by big capitalist economic organizations which controlled the exploitation of most of the raw materials in the world (oil, copper, rubber etc). Most of the raw materials which were not under control of these organizations, however, and which often returned the bulk of actual incomes of underdeveloped countries, suffered from the existing situation.

The effect of the factors which, after the Second World War, produced a certain improvement in the prices of raw materials as against the prices of industrial goods, was limited in scope. The rate of the increase of industrial production in the developed countries was more or less even in the post-war period, thanks to a more systematic application of state capitalist measures. The new state capitalist mechanism, however, introduced new elements in the economic organization of the developed countries. Almost all important industrial branches and commercial enterprises were linked together through various trade chambers and other economic associations. Their direct and indirect non-economic influence on the raw material market was a factor of special significance.

This goes to explain why, despite an ever greater demand for raw materials, the discrepancy between their prices and those of industrial goods is still so great. Although this relation, compared to the pre-war period, has changed to a certain extent in favour of under-developed countries, it is subject to a strong tendency towards dislocation. Statistics also show that the relation of prices remains unfavourable for under-developed countries, compared to the

period at the end of the last century and just before the First World War. Agricultural and raw material countries today must export much larger quantities of raw materials in order to be able to buy that quantity of industrial goods which they purchased several decades ago. A report of the Secretariat of the Pan-American Union for 1950 says: "Latin America receives today 46 per cent less on a physical unit of its exports than it received 82 years ago, that is, if it wished to buy the same volume as 82 years ago, it would have to export 80 per cent more than it does today."

The long-term aggravation of conditions of exchange in the under-developed countries is accompanied by sharp, though brief fluctuations of export prices and quantities, which often drastically change, not only from year to year, but within a very short time and hence the sharp fluctuations in the income from exports. The instability of the raw material market is, naturally, one of the most unfavourable causes affecting the market is, naturally, one of the most unfavourable causes affecting the stabilization of internal development in under-developed countries. An interesting example is provided by Chile, whose income tax revenues from copper exports are reduced by about 4 million dollars if prices on foreign markets fall by a single American cent. The adverse payment balance of Egypt in 1952, amounting to 71.3 million pounds sterling, was explained exclusively by the rapid fall in cotton prices. It is to be stressed that instability of income in under-developed countries was particularly marked after the Second World War, as fluctuation was particularly prevalent at that time.

PERSONALITIES AND POLITICS

An Historic Acknowledgment

History has again proved to be instructive: to be honest, we must admit that it is necessary from time to time to reaffirm certain old truths and secure historical acknowledgment of new values as lawful and inevitable achievements of social development. It is really necessary to show that in politics and sociology the old French saying: "practice is the school of life" is often disregarded, for there are still many people on our planet who will never become realists in politics, although every page of history is a lesson on political realism.

The saying is French, and the truth that it is being disregarded is proved by French policy in Tunisia. The descendants of the 1789 revolutionaries — those ardent advocates of the republic and liberties — who now represent official France have, through the logic of an historic inconsistency, found themselves suppressing human rights. Trying, in spite of objective social developments, to retain their rule over other peoples, they have become the advocates of the old and discarded ideas and are organizing crusades against the fighters for freedom and new social and political values, under the hot sun of Africa. For years, French policy in Tunisia was to support Sidi Mohamed Lamine, the youngest of the long line of beys of the Husseinid dynasty, and to exile Habib Bourguiba, the leader of the liberation movement, of the Tunisian people to La Goullette and who knows how many other prisons. The triumphant return of Bourguiba to Tunisia was the result of the Neodestur's strength, and not of realism on the banks of the Seine. Were this not so, there would be no fighting and bloodshed in Algeria now.

The old and the new cannot be reconciled: the constructive realism of Bourguiba and the ideals of the Neodestur inevitably conflicted with the "monarchy" made in France, with the adventures of the youngest of the Husseinides. The result could not have been anything but a republic in Tunisia.

History has given us a new lesson, and the future and glory belong to the protagonists of new aspirations.

UN Plans to Develop International Law in 1958

P. MILANOVIĆ

WORK on the codification and progressive development of international rules and regulations in the United Nations is a difficult and politically very delicate matter. The fundamental purpose of this work is to adapt so-called conventional international law, the rules of which were applied throughout the world from the Congress of Westphalia in 1648 to the beginning of the Second World War, to the principles of the United Nations Charter, to the reality created by the historical and technological progress, particularly in the last few decades and to the conceptions of modern man. Two elements of legislative technique are therefore inseparable in this work. It is not enough only to codify, i.e., arrange and systematize the already existing rules; what is necessary is to develop international law, to modify obsolescent regulations and augment them by new provisions.

The legislative work in the United Nations is not at all easy. The United Nations has no parliament with the right and power to impose its decisions as binding rules on states, to make them abide by the imposed rules and to apply sanctions against states which do not do so. These are matters which cannot be imposed on a minority, as is done in a democratic state. If a rule is to become an international obligation, all states must accept it and undertake to abide by it. And to achieve this, multilateral conventions are concluded. Formally, such conventions bind only the states which sign them. But if the majority of world states accept a multilateral convention, such a convention gradually affects all the states, since the states which sign it usually use it as a standard of their conduct towards other states, regardless of whether they are signatories of the convention or not.

In 1958 the United Nations plans to call a great international conference to consider the proposal for a new maritime law. The United Nations Commission for International Law has, for several years, been preparing — in cooperation with governments throughout the world — a convention on territorial and inland waters, and a convention on the regime and the width of the belt of territorial waters. The members of the Commission themselves could not agree on all the matters considered, such as the distance from the coast of the boundary line between territorial waters and the high seas, and this matter was some years ago referred to the General Assembly. However, the Sixth Committee of the Assembly did not consider itself competent to deal with the text of the draft convention, and it suggested — and the suggestion was accepted — that the General Assembly should call a diplomatic conference in March 1958, at which qualified delegates of states would decide to what extent the provisions proposed by the Commission could be accepted. Discussion at this conference will certainly be lengthy, particularly on the problem of the width of territorial waters in all directions (the general width of the belt, the regime of gulfs, the width of inland waters around groups of island mutually interconnected which belong to the same state). This is an old dispute; in the past states claimed sovereignty over a belt of the sea along the coast ranging from 3 to 12 miles. Now they go even further.

Some Latin American states propose that, owing to various geographical conditions, the width of territorial waters may be as much as 120 miles. In explaining their proposal they put forward, in addition to geophysical reasons, certain historical, political and other interests.

We do not believe that under such conditions the international community will be able to secure a uniform solution, and most of the states will probably vote for a compromise proposal to authorize states to regulate, by their national legislation, the width of their territorial waters within the limits of from 3 to 12 miles. If this question is settled, other disputes concerning the regime of gulfs, archipelagoes etc. will be solved as well.

All states of the world which are interested in this subject are preparing for the forthcoming conference. Consultations of experts are being set up to determine the national interests and the extent to which they can yield to proposals opposed to their own. Governments are consulting one another and trying to secure support for their views. However, that is important in the whole matter is that all states consider it necessary to codify the maritime law and set it on a firm basis. Accordingly, it may be anticipated that the forthcoming maritime conference will be successful; it will certainly not fail to produce some results, as was the case with a similar conference organized by the League of Nations in 1933. This conference should complete the present work on one branch of international legislation.

Other work in the field of international law is being carried out in the Commission for International Law. The Commission has fifteen subjects on its agenda, but it is considering practically only four of them. The commission's structure was changed this year: formerly there were only 15 jurists in the Commission, and now there are 21. The number of its members was increased in order that the legal systems of the Asian and African countries may be considered in codifying international rules.

In studying the work of the Commission, whose meeting has been scheduled for 1958, we may divide the subjects it will consider into two groups — one to consider problems on which after consultations with different governments, the Commission will draw up elaborate reports, and the other questions upon which the Commission members have not yet reached agreement. The first group for the time being consists of only one subject — diplomatic law, i. e. rules governing diplomatic intercourse and the privileges and immunity of diplomatic agents. The codification of these rules was approached on the proposal of the Yugoslav Government, which requested priority for the subject in 1952. Although this so-called Yugoslav Government request urgent consideration of the subject, since some governments towards Yugoslav diplomatic representatives in a period of unstable international relations, it was accepted by the Commission. A provisional draft convention on the matter was completed early this year in a peaceful atmosphere and a general desire for cooperation and all the members of the Commission wor-

ked on the draft, with regard to the reasons which had induced the Yugoslav Government request consideration of the subject, since improved conditions in the world made it possible to ignore such reasons. The members of the Commission, after examining the materials submitted by all governments, came to the conclusion that the time had come for codification of the relevant rules, for diplomatic law had not been revised since the Congress of Vienna (1815) although the political and historical and even technical conditions under which diplomatic representatives work had changed.

This draft convention, submitted by the Swedish jurist, Stran-son, after some amendments by the Commission, was approved in general.

It was later sent to the United Nations Secretary General with the request that the governments of the member states should study it and forward their views and suggestions, so that the Commission, at its next meeting in April-June 1958, could make a final draft and submit it to the General Assembly in order to conclude a multilateral convention which would represent a modern diplomatic law.

However, even if this convention is passed, work on the codification of diplomatic rules and regulations will not have been completed, for this convention will regulate only the work of regular diplomatic representatives. The Commission, however, con-sorted to in solving important political as well as a number of hoc diplomacy (various delegations composed of members and representatives of governments who are not on the staff of the per-manent diplomatic missions accredited in the countries with which they are negotiating), since ad hoc diplomacy is today often re-sorted to in solving important political as well as a number of other, primarily technical questions, which divide states and na-tions. The Commission has chosen a rapporteur and instructed him to submit a report on the subject at its next meeting. The other matter which, in the opinion of the Commission, should be regu-lated, is diplomatic intercourse and the legal status of represen-tatives of state, as well as of agents of international organizations at meetings of such organizations and in general. The Commission holds that the character of international organizations has changed. They are no longer bodies which settle current affairs between two meetings. They are becoming permanent diplomatic conferences. Special missions of individual states are accredited to such organi-zations, and they themselves send missions to individual states, maintain their diplomacy, and undertake a great number of actions which were formerly carried out by the states, so that they harmo-nize international activities in many fields.

The rules regarding these three fields of diplomatic activity, when codified, will represent diplomatic law. We may expect, how-ever, that only the rules in the first of these fields, i. e., the conventions on permanent missions and ad hoc diplomacy, will be completed in 1958. The Commission has determined its plan of action and sent a list of questions concerning the convention on ad hoc diplomacy to all member states of the United Nations. Only when this second convention is drafted will it be possible to approach the drafting of the convention on intercourse with inter-nal organizations, and through them.

The Commission for International Law has before it two other partially completed draft conventions, whose consideration is scheduled for 1958.

One of these, the draft of which has been completed, deals with consular intercourse and the privileges and immunity of consular officials. It was drawn up by Professor Jaroslav Zsarek of Prague, President of the International Law Commission, but it was

decided to consider it only after the convention on diplomatic in-tercourse had been completed, since consular services are closely linked with the status of diplomatic missions.

The other draft convention is partially completed. It is the work of three British professors, who were successive members of the Commission, Brierly (who retired), Lauter Pacht, who later became a judge of the Hague International Court of Justice, and Gerald Fitz Maurice, who finally completed the draft. Their work consists of a code of international contractual rules. This convention will prob-ably be considered next year.

A special group of subjects to be considered by the Com-mission are dealt with in two new provisional conventions. One is the convention on international arbitration, which was drawn up by Professor Scelles of Paris. This draft was accepted earlier by the Commission, but it was sharply criticized by the Sixth Com-mittee in 1956, and the General Assembly returned it to the Com-mission to be considered in the light of the criticisms and remarks put forward by various governments. Now, even the members of the Commission themselves are not in agreement as to what is to be done with the convention. Most of them consider that it should be re-examined and modified. Some members, however, hold that modification would undermine its uniformity of provisions, so that it would not adequately implement the idea of the judicial character of arbitration which is the fundamental characteristic of the draft. The author of the convention proposes to draw up — in place of this convention — model rules as recommendations of the Com-mission, which should serve as a guide in arbitration cases. It is difficult to say whether the draft, even in its new form, would be accepted, since, with the expansion of the Commission, a majority has been formed in it which is against the proposal to change the character of arbitration and give it an impartial judicial function. These people say that arbitration was successful in the past only because it disregarded law, because it tended to reconcile the parties and sought compromise solutions which could be acceptable to the states in question. It is not the formulation, but the nature and the role of arbitration, over which people disagree. The second matter in this group of subjects, whose fate is unknown, is a convention on the responsibilities of states for the damages suffered by foreign nationals on their territories. In fact, this convention is designed to settle conflicts existing between countries which export capital and those which import it. In most countries people are aware that the state is to a certain extent responsible for such damage, but also that the presence of foreigners and foreign capital should not prevent it from implementing various reforms. The representatives of the Asian and African countries are resolutely against any pri-privileges of foreigners or any special guarantees for such privileges on their territories. They consider that a convention of this kind would mean the restoration of the old and relegated regime of capi-tulation. In this matter, the fundamental conceptions of different legal civilizations conflict, and any attempt to settle such questions — even if there should be a majority in favour of the solution — is bound to fail. It is therefore hard to believe that any progress will be made in solving this matter in 1958. We fear that opposing views will come into greater conflict in the debates on the matter.

As this summary shows, the 1958 programme of the United Nations in the codification of international rules and regulations is extensive. Probably it will not be carried out in full, but it is a sign of the great efforts which the United Nations is making to promote international law and improve relations between states.

SESSION OF ECOSOC

Rodoljub BOGOJEVIĆ

AS IN previous years, this year's meeting of ECOSOC in Geneva is confronted with two kinds of problems — those arising from the ever more complex tasks imposed on the world community by the contradictions of contemporary economic and social development, and those which are due to the frequently manifested tendency to belittle the role of the United Nations in solving economic problems, and to give priority to actions outside the Organization.

At the beginning of the meeting some delegations showed a tendency to present the world economic situation in a favourable light and to make use of this to support efforts to curtail the activity of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, as well as in the sphere of human rights. These tendencies were expressed in a variety of ways, and in many discussions. In the corridors the delegates openly spoke about the danger of the "excessive expansion" of the United Nations, while officially they demanded that due attention be paid to the Organization's "limited resources", advocating the abandoning of certain admirable projects, the limitation of the work of the regional councils, and the increasing of control over the work of specialized councils, and the increasing of control over the work of specialized agencies. Other tendencies were also displayed which ignored actual circumstances and the requirement that every decision must be approved by a large number of countries whose economic, political and social systems are very different.

However, as the meeting proceeded, these tendencies were gradually suppressed by the resolute will of the majority of delegations to try to find common solutions which would encourage the further activity and strengthen the prestige of the United Nations.

Without any doubt, world public opinion and the relaxed tension in international relations played an important role in bringing this change about. This was best shown by the fact that during the meeting covered by this article no delegation insisted on any unpopular measure, and that the propaganda duels were reduced to a minimum. The atmosphere improved, and gradually priority was given to compromises.

What the meeting will achieve in the economic field no one can say as yet. The widening gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries of the world is an interna-

tional problem of great importance, and its solution, even if there existed all the necessary prerequisites, for it will not be easy. The report of the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, on the situation in world economy and in the underdeveloped countries, showed this very clearly, as did the data contained in the reports of United Nations experts.

All the delegates agreed that the next report of the experts should give greater attention to the development of under developed countries and the effects which unequal development in different areas of the world produce on world economy as a whole. A proposal was made — and it is likely to be accepted — that the second part of the report should be devoted to the danger of inflation and to the deflationary measures of individual governments, due attention being paid to the effects of these measures in the world.

The ECOSOC activities will not be restricted to studies of this kind, which are in themselves, however very valuable. A group of countries proposed that a study should be made of the individual countries and on the improvement of world trade. These proposals, if accepted, will facilitate the solving of existing economic problems.

A significant proof of the improved international situation evident at the meeting of ECOSOC was the unity of views of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers on the question of disarmament. This was achieved by the help of other delegations, including Yugoslavia's, whose suggestions made it possible to reconcile the attitudes of the two sides. A joint resolution, which will soon be put to the vote expresses the hope that the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee, now meeting in London, will make some progress towards solving this problem, and so free new funds for economic development, particularly in underdeveloped countries.

In other fields, where equally important political interests are involved, there is little hope of compromise. The Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution expressing its concern at the setting up of the Joint European Market. It demanded that a study be made of the consequences which this market will produce on the economies of other countries. A number of other delegations, too, expressed their anxiety at the setting up of this market. There were many delegations, however, in favour of sub-regional organizations, and there was some talk of two other joint markets — one for the Scandinavian countries, and the other for Latin America.

Whether ECOSOC will solve this problem or whether it will leave it for further study, it is noteworthy that this important organization has extended its activities to an additional field: the study of new sources of energy. A decision on this matter was taken in the Economic Committee, and it is expected to be approved by the plenary session of the Council. The significance of sources of energy cannot be underestimated, since they are of great importance to the future economic development in the world, particularly in underdeveloped countries. The activity of ECOSOC in this field will pave the way for further action by the United Nations, regional councils and specialized agencies. It also opens the door for work, on a regional basis, in the development of the water resources of Yugoslavia (which is of the utmost importance to this country), and in the using of new sources of nuclear energy. Attempts to prevent the United Nations from considering such problems failed in face of the arguments — produced by many delegations, particularly those of the small countries — that there were countries in which power transmission lines could not be constructed in the near, future, but in which there were excellent opportunities for the exploitation of solar and aeolian energy, or at least for the production of the necessary installations.

It is believed that studies in this field will make it possible to expand the work on the exploitation of new sources of energy.

The debate on technical assistance was lengthy, and the efforts of most delegations tended to prevent any decrease in the programme or limitation of this useful activity in the future.

The fact that 104 countries are taking part in the Technical Assistance Programme, and that with the modest sum of 30 million dollars significant results were achieved last year, was a very convincing argument. There were covert attempts to divide the countries into two categories — those which give assistance and those which receive it, and to use the decreases in the programme for next year as a precedent for the future. These attempts, however were not successful, and it was finally decided to ask the governments taking part in the programme to consider the possibilities of increasing their contributions.

Regrets were expressed that the programme had been decreased, and recommendations were made to coordinate it so as to achieve the possible results with the available funds. A significant contribution to the efforts to pass this decision was made by the Yugoslav delegation, whose member, Ja-

nez Stanovnik, presided at the meetings of the Committee for Technical Assistance. These recommendations must now be approved by the Council.

In the debates on the world social situation and on the problems concerning human rights, the status of women and so on, the delegations displayed a high degree of unity of view, and they approved the work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in this field. The documents and analyses submitted not only formed a basis for the debate, but were also the best argument for the strengthening of the efforts of the world community in these matters.

A shadow over the work of the Social Committee was cast by disagreements over the danger to the health of man of nuclear explosions. These disagreements led to the postponement of the consideration of a very useful resolution, which expressed the

hope that the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union would arrive at agreement on the suspension of tests. This resolution would have given powerful moral support to the efforts of the world public in general, and those made by numerous scientists, statesmen and prominent public workers to influence the responsible governments to stop the tests.

ECOSOC has yet to consider a number of important problems at this meeting. These include food supplies, refugees and, primarily, special funds for economic development in under — developed countries. In spite of years of study, no progress has been made in the solving of the last of these problems. Some suggestions were made at the meeting which may help to overcome its difficulties. But whether anything will be done to solve the problem will be known only when the debate on the matter starts.

MILITARY COMMENTARY

BRITISH WHITE PAPER

J. MIHIĆ

IN APRIL this year the British Defence Secretary Duncan Sandys submitted a report White Paper (on defence) to Parliament outlining the British defence policy during the coming five year period. By contrast to its predecessors this years report is extremely interesting both from the political as well as from the military point of view.

In the White Paper the British Government formulated its new defence policy. As distinct from the previous changes and reorganizations in the British armed forces this year White Paper foresees a through change of British defence policy, which aim at achieving the maximum efficiency of the British armed forces in the most economical manner according to their tasks in modern warfare which are likewise formulated in the White Paper.

This new British defence policy is actually a result of many years of study and discussion. The need to reorganize the armed forces the obsolescence of the present division formations, and the need to create a smaller and more mobile unit which would replace the division etc, were discussed long since in the British military circles. Discussions were likewise held with a view to reducing the numerical force of staff, the military personnel in various military institution, depots and bases, as well as the surplus officers staff.

In that sense the British armed forces reveal a gradual but steady decrease during

the past few years. The numerical force of the British armed forces amounted to 845,000 men in April 1, 1954; 823,000 on April 1, 1955; 788,000 on April 1, 1956 and 718,000 on April 1, 1957 while a total force of 654,000 men is foreseen on April 1, 1958. The number of people employed in military factories and enterprises was also declined at the same rate. About 200,000 persons were dismissed or transferred from the military to the civilian industry during the past four years. In 1956 alone the military industry was reduced by 70,000 men.

This testifies to the fact that the protracted discussions all led to the conclusion that in their present form the British armed forces represented an obsolete, unwieldy and insufficiently mobile formation for modern warfare, hampered by obsolete armaments, so that the conclusion was reached that the time has come for thorough change in its structure and organization.

There are several elements which influenced the implementation of these far reaching changes without delay:

— In the first place, Great Britain was not economical in a position to keep in pace with the USA and USSR in the armaments race. Her economic situation not only made any further increase of the military budget prohibitive, but also urgently required its reduction.

— After the defeat of British policy on the Suez, the conservative government was obliged to undertake such measures which will

enable it to restore the confidence lost and consolidate its shaken positions. In this sense the results of the Bermuda Conference and the new military policy constitute, in opinion of the government the strongest trump cards in its policy.

Consequently although the contents of the White Paper caused considerable surprise among the uninformed, it actually marks concrete expression of a process which was brewing some time already in the British armed forces.

II.

The White Paper in fact lay down the outlines of the new British defence policy while laying particular stress on three basic elements which influenced the formulation of such a doctrine at the present moment:

1. Political and strategic considerations: „The communist peril remains, but its nature has changed, therefore the danger of immediate war has receded, and is replaced by the prospects of a longer period of acuted international tension“.

2. Development of science: „It is clear for some time already that the progress made in the field of science and modern armament must fundamentally change the entire basis of military planning“.

3. Economic considerations: „The military effort according to the 1950 scale which foresay the expenditure of 4700 million pounds sterling over a three year period exceeded the economic possibilities of Great Britain“, and „British influence in the world primarily depends on economic stability and exports“.

Having thus defined the reasons which led to the reform of British policy, the White Paper sets the following tasks before the armed forces:

1. To contribute together with their allies in deterring and the prevention of aggression.

2. To defend the British colonies and dependent territories in case of local conflicts and undertake limited operations in of effective and coordinated preparations. overseas countries if the need arises.

In other words the task of the British armed forces consists in acting together with the USA as a deterrent of world conflicts, while at the same time being capable, in actions of local character, of protecting the interests of Great Britain in all parts of the world.

In view of such tasks the British armed forces should be based on regular (voluntary-paid) troops, while the role and tasks of the individual service branches consist in the following:

1. The Ground forces — (army) — with its reduced manpower and increased firepower — is to participate together with the members of the NATO in the defence of the Western European frontiers and be prepared for a quick and effective intervention in other parts of the world where this proves necessary. In this sense it is necessary to reduce the forces in the overseas garrison and West Germany to the maximum extent and form a central reserve in Great Britain which will be perfectly mobile and capable

of reaching the point of intervention in the quickest possible way.

2. The Airforce — must be in position together with the allies to act as a deterrent of total global war, defend the airforce bases and airfields, from enemy attack, and transport the central reserve from Great Britain to any destination required. The basic tasks of the airforce in the near future be taken over by guided and inter-continental ballistic missiles.

3. The Navy consisting of several shock groups, formed of aircraft carriers, remained without a specific task in case of total war. However in case of a longer duration of total war, the navy would assume of its classic task of protecting the marine communications.

In the sense of these tasks the White Paper foresees that the armed forces be reduced over the next five year period from 690,000 men at present (not including the womens auxiliary force) to 375,000. Conscription should end by 1960 and the last draftee should be discharged from the armed forces in 1962. Apart from this the White Paper foresees:

- the maintenance of the reserve service but on a lesser scale and in reorganized form;

- the cessation of further research on bombers of the V class and only the development of P-1 fighter craft;

- the shifting of research efforts to guided and ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons, while establishing full cooperation in this field with the USA and other allies, especially the Commonwealth countries;

- the abolishment of military works and factories as well as institutions for the production, maintenance and training based on the obsolete means of warfare, and that the manpower thus obtains especially the technical and scientific personnel be intergrated into the general economy as soon as possible;

The fundamental postulates in the White Paper which explain the need of such a policy include also the following;

- no country is able to defend itself alone, therefore collective western defence is necessary;

- there is no adequate protection from nuclear attack;

- it is impossible to predict the development and requirements of future war with certainty;

- all military planning must be conceived as a deterrent of war not as a preparation for it.

iii.

The White Paper on British military policy marks a turning point with regard to the previous concepts and ideas. It is therefore natural that it gave rise to extensive comment and discussion both in Great Britain and the world in general. The British press received the White Paper favourably on the whole, with relatively little adverse comment. All critics of the White Paper only opposed individual parts or passages, not the new military conception as a whole. Objections were also made in this connection on the dependence of Great Britain from the USA on the military and political plan. All this testified to the fact that the conditions for the publication of the White Paper in Great Britain were ripe and that the British Government chose the most opportune moment to publish it. Speaking on the White Paper during the parliamentary debate, defence Secretary Sandys sated: „There are some who may call the White Paper revolutionary while others consider that it does not contain anything new. It is most likely that both are right... It is more important that the Government consider that the moment for this decision has now come than what is written in the White Paper“.

On the internal place the White Paper will ease the strain on the budget and hence also lighten the loss of the taxpayer. Therefore it is also popular at first sight. Conscription on National Service as it is called was never popular in Great Britain and constituted an economic difficulty of its kind, although this is being exaggerated of late. Apart from this, the White Paper, will make available a large number of expert and technical staff for civilian requirements. It is considered that this will constitute a greater economic gain than the actual budget savings.

The White Paper on defence will hit a considerable number of officers and military employees as well as the military industry. The difficulties involved by the requalification of the surplus manpower which should be eliminated from the armed forces are also being discussed. There is also the serious problem of enlisting young men in military service in the future, which is already being acutely felt in the air force, so that the Defence Secretary Sandys was obliged to state in Parliament that notwithstanding the changes ahead, the young flyers and airforce officers have brilliant prospects. At any rate, the White Paper will logically entail uphe-

aval and certain difficulties in the armed forces, but one gains the impression that these difficulties will not have any serious effects.

The White Paper is in fact a five year plan for the reduction and reorganization of the armed forces, and in view of the steady downward tendency manifested during the past few years, — it is unlikely that its implementation will give rise to any major difficulties. It seems clear to all that the development of new weapons and strategy necessitates the adjustment of the armed forces, for this reason there were no serious disagreement in military circles with the actual conception of the White Paper.

There was more criticism in the sphere of foreign policy, although not serious. It is clear that the concept of the White Paper was discussed beforehand with the USA. This is also confirmed by the fact that its publication was postponed owing to the Bermuda Conference, and was preceded by the Sandys visit to the USA. It is hard to say to what extent the White Paper is a compromise between the original British attitudes and the eventual objections and suggestions of the USA. The only more serious objection of the US press referred to the British view on the impossibility of adequate protection from a nuclear attack which the Americans consider to have a demoralizing effect on the world.

The White Paper will also influence the European allies of Great Britain. The comments and objections of the European members of the NATO indicate that a period of serious processes and contradictions is in the offing which may influence the effectiveness of the Pact's a whole in immediate future. Voices are already heard in Great Britain that the NATO already is obsolete contemplated from the standpoint of military organization and that it will be necessary to reorganize it.

As a five year plan the White Paper gives not only a general line of development and reorganization of the armed forces, while its practical implementation, — if the previous reductions of the armed forces are discounted, — has still not begun. What definite organizational forms will be adopted for the ground forces foreseen at 150,000 — 160,000 men, an airforce of 140 — 150,000 and a navy of 75,000 men has still not been finally decided, as it ensues from the White Paper that the character of an eventual war is not entirely clear either.

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Changes and New Trends in Yugoslav Local Self - Government

Dr Jovan ĐORĐEVIĆ

PRESIDENT OF THE JURIDICAL COMMITTEE IN THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SOME changes were made in the system of local self-government in Yugoslavia this year. These changes, however, do not essentially modify either the structure or the organization of self-government in the Yugoslav municipalities and districts. They tend to develop and improve the fundamental principles of self-government in the political system of Yugoslavia which were determined by the Constitutional Law of 1953 further elaborated through the reform of local self-government in 1955.

These changes were made in three basic fields.

First, in the territorial organization of local self-government, and of municipalities in particular. With the reform of 1955 Yugoslavia took her place among the few countries of the world in which radical changes in territorial administration had been made by uniting smaller municipalities and districts. In 1955 the number of districts was decreased in a similar proportion, i. e., from 350 to 107. Certain municipalities with less than 5,000 and even as few as 2,000 inhabitants remained in existence, but the majority of them cover areas with a population of more than 5,000.

The same standard in forming larger municipalities and districts were not applied in all the constituent republics and their individual regions, or under the same objective conditions. Apart from certain "immeasurable" and "invisible" influences, the reasons for these differences were chiefly of a historical and objective character. In region where self government was the result of the struggle of the peasantry for certain "communal rights and liberties", the territories of municipalities coincide with the boundaries of individual villages, and even those of larger hamlets. In such regions, i. e., republics, the prevailing view was that the small municipalities should remain intact, the more so if the citizens themselves were in favour of such small municipalities. Naturally, people in different parts of Yugoslavia, owing to their different historical development, did not, and still do not, have the same views on whether we should have larger or smaller municipalities. These differences of view also existed in the question of districts, and they were due to the same reasons as those in relation to the municipalities.

These differences with regard to the size of municipalities and districts in individual republics, i. e., provinces of Yugoslavia, however, were not the expression of any conflict of political conceptions, and no forces opposed the general view on which the 1955 reform was based. This view was that the increasing of the territories of the municipalities and districts was not only the consequence of industrialization and the social and economic development of the country, but also a necessity upon which the autonomous status of municipalities and districts depended. Differences in the size of municipalities remained, because the principle of voluntary determination of the population was applied in all cases,

and because subjective psychological factors in some places appeared to the people to be more important than objective circumstances.

Objective factors, however, later exerted considerable influence on public opinion. Smaller municipalities were in a position to ensure the necessary conditions, either for their independence or for their functioning. Their budgets were small, consequently the very machinery of local self-government was not as efficient in its work as it should have been (shortage of trained personnel, backward administration and so on). Thus, the small commune itself came to seek union with its neighbouring commune or communes. This was why it was necessary to consider greater or smaller changes in the territorial organization of municipalities: greater in the republics which retained a relatively larger number of small municipalities (Serbia, for instance), and smaller in others. After these changes, which have been made under republican laws, the number of municipalities in Yugoslavia will be just over 1,000, and the number of districts about 100.

Another field in which changes took place was the structure of the municipal people's committees. After the reform in 1955 only 95 municipalities had two chambers: the municipal council and the council of producers, i. e., the same structure as all representative bodies. Under the law passed by the Federal People's Assembly in July 1957 all municipal committees will have two chambers. The political and public discussion on whether producers, councils should be introduced in municipalities began at the same time as the preparations for the 1955 reform. At that time the solving of the problem was postponed, and responsible factors studied the experience of the municipalities which already had two chambers. These were the people's committees of towns which in 1955 became municipalities, (from 1952 to 1955 districts and towns had people's committees with producers' councils).

After the 1955 reform, developed municipalities, particularly those in which new industries and the young working class were growing rapidly, demanded that producers' councils should be introduced in all municipalities. Meanwhile the producers councils themselves were proving not only their significance in principle, but also their practical value in the mechanism of socialist democracy. For the essence of this mechanism is the dialectical unity of political and economic democracy, i. e., the united political and economic sovereignty of the producers and the working people in general. The basis of this "united sovereignty" is social ownership of the means of production in industry, trade and transport, as well as in agriculture (state farms, collective farms, peasant cooperatives etc.). The producers' council is an institution in which, and through which, economic and political sovereignty is united. It is one of the essential institutions of socialist democracy at its present level of development. Accordingly it is understandable why certain theoreticians

had for some time been recommending the introduction of the councils of producers into the municipal people's committees.

The reasons in principle for the introduction of these councils in municipalities were strengthened by practical needs: The producers' councils were proving themselves to be capable political bodies which introduced into the work of the assemblies and people's committees a new treatment of economic and social problems, a treatment in which one felt the „fresh breath of the factories and fields“. Apart from this, in a number of cases the producers' councils displayed independence and ingenuity of thought in considering individual economic matters and in taking decisions. This gave greater authority to local self-government and increased the effectiveness of its decisions. This effectiveness was due to the introduction of new experience, interests and conceptions in the economic plans and other standard acts, whose implementation is made easy if they are approved by all the interested factors who work for their realization.

It was this, on the whole, that led to the changes in the structure of municipal self-government.

The third field in which changes were made was the election system in essence, the election system in Yugoslavia remains unchanged, and is based on the principle of general, equal and direct suffrage rights and secret ballot, on the right of the meetings of electors to submit the candidature of deputies and committeemen. The Federal law of July 1957 introduced changes into the elections of the district people's committees only. At the elections for new people's committees, which are to be held this year, the district people's committees will be elected on the basis of the so-called deputation principle.

Usually, particularly in the daily press, methods of indirect elections are confused with elections on the basis of deputation principle, and none of the essential and political differences between the two systems are taken into account. The indirect election is implemented when an elected body chooses representatives for a higher representative body „by its own choice“, i.e., outside its ranks. The deputation principle is applied when a political body elects members of a higher representative body as its own delegates, i.e., from its own ranks. As a rule, the indirect election is used for „political“ selection“, i.e., to avoid direct elections in order to elect representatives of definite ruling economic and other social groups. Consequently, indirect elections are in principle, a limitation of the direct participation of the citizens in politics, and they are an instrument used by movements which are not inclined towards democracy.

The deputation principle of election has a different political basis. It arises, as a rule, from a definite structure of democratic political mechanism. It is used to ensure the leading role of the fundamental units of the population in the work of a „highest political body which, in a certain sense, „rests“ on these fundamental units of the population and which represents their „political superstructure“. It is in the interest of this structure to have the functions of such a political body performed by delegates, i.e., direct representatives of local units.

Accordingly, the deputation system of election has been advocated and partially implemented by democratic movements which, seeking a more realistic for the people's sovereignty, have made self-governing communities the foundation of their political structure. Karl Marx was one of the advocates of this principle. After him, the same principle was upheld by many socialist and progressive theoreticians, as well as by the adherents of communal democracy.

As is known, the self-governing commune is the basis of the Yugoslav political system. The district is neither a „second instance organ of authority“, nor a representative of the „second government, nor an organ which exercises „administrative control“

over the communes. It is an association of communes which have joint economic, social and cultural interests in a more or less economically and naturally integrated territory. The district, that is to say its people's committee, as a rule exercises only functions which are of common interest to all the united communes and which are determined by law, while all other functions of local self-government fall within the competence of the communes themselves.

Consequently, the acceptance of the deputation system in the election of district people's committees is justified by the existing structure of local self-government in Yugoslavia and its entire political system. The district, as a political organization, which performs common functions for a definite number of municipalities must be closely linked with the municipalities themselves. The deputation system of elections is now one of the links of this closer connection. It is the expression of one of the fundamental constitutional principles of the organization of local self-government, and it tends to strengthen the position of the commune as the fundamental role of self-government. Apart from these conceptions in principle, there are practical reasons for the introduction of the deputation system of elections. It is known that the functions of the district people's committees are carried out with great understanding by the people, who are well versed in the problem of individual communes and who are aware of their importance and role in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. Accordingly, they are not affected by the influence of „district centralism“, and they do not act as a „higher authority“. In this we must bear in mind that every member of the district committee must be a committeeman in the municipality elected by the voters, who can recall him at any time.

Both chambers of the district people's committee are elected on the basis of the deputation system. The members of the municipal council elect delegates, who become members of the district council, and the members of the municipal producers' council send their delegates to the district producers' council. The municipal and district producers' council are elected in accordance with the constitutional principles governing the elections of these chambers. This means that the committeemen are elected from two sections of the economy, one of which includes industry, trade and transport, and the other agriculture. Each of these sections is represented in the producers' council not in proportion to their numerical strength, but in proportion to their contribution to the social production of the municipality and the district respectively.

With this, the classical principle of political democracy expounded by John Stuart Mill is inevitably transformed and expanded under conditions of economic democracy, which is a component part of the political structure of socialist democracy. This makes it possible to affirm or measure — on an economic and social basis — the direct role of the socialized means of production and the working class, with the corresponding political action of the private farmers in Yugoslavia.

The deputation principle in the election of representative bodies is not a new thing in the system of local self-government in individual countries, although it is still an exception. But as well as its advantages in principle and practice, the implementation of this principle is linked with definite new problems and difficulties. When the whole matter was being considered, interesting discussions took place in the Assembly's committees and elsewhere. Certain arguments were put forward against the deputation principle of election. These arguments were not due — as it is largely believed — to the „inherited conceptions“ of the moral and political advantages of direct elections, but to the existence of real weaknesses and problems in implementing the principle (such as the concentration of several functions in the hands of a single body, the difficulty of

performing more than one function, the difficulty of determining a just measure in representing one's own municipality, etc). The acceptance of the deputation principle was primarily based on the unanimous wish of all to affirm the communal system with the municipality as the fundamental unit of self government, and to try in practice a new election mechanism in the general search for the election principles which would best correspond to the Yugoslav political order and its democracy, and which would be further developed and perfected.

Apart from these new steps, further changes will have to be made in Yugoslavia's local self-government. It is necessary to expand the economic independence of the municipality and to enable it to become a factor which will ensure the social character of the means of production, a factor which will encourage greater production, and the raising of the general and personal standard of living. According to prevalent opinions, the chief source of revenue of the commune

must be a legally sanctioned part of the personal income of its population. For this will induce the communes to work to improve production and the productivity of labour, to increase the earnings of the working people and so expand the scope of self-government. Similarly the competencies of the municipal people's committees are to be increased, and certain new principles will be introduced which will make it possible for more developed municipalities to perform the functions of which they are capable, while the developed municipalities, in performing certain function, will be able to make use of the mechanism of „intercommunal cooperation“ or let the district temporarily perform such functions for them.

All these changes will help to strengthen the independence of Yugoslav local-self-government which, as emphasized in the resolution of the Federal People's Assembly of 1956, is one of the pillars of the political system of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia.

ADULT EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Slobodan BOSILJČIĆ

THE education of adults in Yugoslavia is carried on in various ways. These consist of pre-school, school, post, school and other institutions. The chief consideration in this work is that adult education cannot be left to the schools alone, and that every individual is given opportunity to add this education throughout his life.

The general, inherited backwardness of Yugoslavia only increases the importance of work on adult education.

Special efforts in adult education in Yugoslavia are demanded by the successes made in the industrialization of the country. The growing number of factories and their modern installations demand greater skills on the part of those who operate them, i.e., workers and employees. The system of social self-government, in which every participant directly decides on complicated economic and political matters, necessitates, too, the quicker and more adequate education of all grown-up citizens. And the latest successes achieved in agriculture demand a higher level of education and culture in the rural areas as well.

Yugoslavia is undoubtedly about to make a further step in economic development. The system of adult education is, therefore, now receiving greater attention than ever before, the more so since it contains many shortcomings, such as the inadequate system of education generally, the breaking off of the education of young people and its accompanying evils — primitiveness and unscientific or obsolete forms of work.

The most important problem is the discrepancy between the present system of education and the requirements of every day social development.

In order to overcome these weaknesses, various measures have recently been undertaken. What we have in mind is, first of all, work on school reform. This is an important task, involving the entire community, and endeavours are now being made to improve the school system, from the elementary schools to the university faculties and scientific institutions.

But, at the moment we are more interested in the possibilities which various other institutions offer for the improvement of adult education. Among these are, for example, the so-called people's and workers' universities (popular lecture halls), libraries and reading rooms, and so on. Many political and cultural organizations are the initiators of these institutions and their work. Recently a meeting of the Council of Cultural and Educational Societies was held in Beograd and the chief matter considered at this meeting was the subject we are now discussing — adult education.

Naturally, the Council first of all considered the abolition of illiteracy. Work in this field immediately after the war produced good results and from 1946 to 1948 about one and a half million citizens were taught to read and write but, later this work was somewhat neglected. Even so however, another 600,000 people learned to read and write in 1949 and 1950 but, according to the 1955 population census there were still in the country as many as 3 and a half million illiterate people above ten years of age. The council of the Cultural and Educational Societies therefore concluded that it was essential to organize systematic work on the uprooting of illiteracy, and to develop reading and studying habits among those who have learned to read and write.

In 1953 one- and two-year schools for semi-illiterate persons were opened in Serbia, and special courses of study were organized to improve the basic education of such people. In Croatia, two-year schools for the education of rural youths were formed, where instruction is given three times a week throughout the five winter months, either in the afternoon or evening. At present there are 57 such schools with 27,000 pupils, and should by no means be underestimated. In Macedonia there are 95 lower secondary evening schools which are attended by 3,668 adults.

A particularly important role in adult education is played by the health education schools and courses of study. In 1954/55 4,288 such courses were organized in Serbia, and they were attended by 100,000 people. At the same time nearly 3,000 women and young

girls of Montenegro attended various domestic courses, while at the beginning of the 1955/56 school-year there were about 5,000 pupils in special schools for young agricultural producers.

There are some interesting figures concerning the technical skill of workers. According to information released by the Institute for Productivity, industrial production in 1955 was 2.5 times greater than before the war, but the productivity of labour remained at the same level. The chief reason for this was the legal qualification of industrial workers. An inquiry conducted by the Federal Statistical Office in 1954 revealed that in 259 enterprises highly skilled workers accounted for only 3.9% of the total working force; but there were a further 33.1% skilled and 35.4% semi-skilled workers.

Data on other non-school forms adult education show what great opportunities exist in this field. At the beginning of this year there were in Bosnia-Hercegovina 69 people's universities, in which 2,024 lectures were given last year to an audience of 221,552 persons. This year there are in Yugoslavia 87 special workers' universities, in which lectures are given on various political and economic subjects.

Libraries and reading rooms are very important institutions in the system of adult education. In the first post war period there were 3,000 libraries in Serbia, 1,300 in Slovenia, 447 in Montenegro, 1,078 in Croatia, and 312 in Macedonia, containing altogether about 4 million books, and efforts are now being made to expand the libraries in Yugoslavia and to create larger library centres. There are data showing that there are 4 library books per inhabitant in Croatia, and 7 in Macedonia; and that readers most often borrow novels by home and foreign authors.

Publishing activity, too, plays an important role in adult education. This was especially discussed at the meeting of the Council of Cultural and Educational Societies. In the last eighteen months, Yugoslav publishing houses issued 395 popular science books and pamphlets in 1,872,000 copies.

Film and radio are relatively new media for the propagation of knowledge. Today there are 1,200 narrow film projectors in Yugoslavia, and in the last few years 378 educational films have been made in nearly 8,000 copies. This is not a high figure, it is true, but the home production of cheap projectors will certainly improve the situation.

At present the question — what is the educational film? — is being widely debated. Most people believe that we may include in this category not only school and popular science films, but also documentaries, travel films, newsreels, and even feature films with historical and biographical themes. But in spite of the work in the last ten years, Yugoslavia is only taking the initial steps in this field.

Radio, as we have just said, is an important medium for the propagation of knowledge among adults. Yugoslav broadcasting services are developing rapidly. Before the war there were only three radio stations in the country — all under 20 kilowatts. Now there are 15, and the power of 7 of them is above 100 kilowatts. The number of listeners has also increased. There were 155,113 radio receiving sets in 1939, and 710,694 at the end of 1956.

Of the total 81,262 hours broadcasting time 62% is scheduled for music and 36 for news and talks. Yugoslav Radio, as a medium for the education of adults, is now facing important tasks. First, it must introduce joint programmes for all broadcasting houses, second — improve the standard of musical programmes and talks, and third — establish closer contact with the listener.

Apart from these possibilities in adult education, there are various other voluntary forms of work, such as cultural artistic societies with their drama sections, choirs, orchestras etc.

We must emphasise that work on adult education — in schools and other institutions — is now considered an important social task in Yugoslavia.

Now that extensive measures have been taken in various fields, we may expect that new and better results will soon be forthcoming. However, we must not forget that every step forward in this work calls for new and still greater efforts, as has been proved in the most advanced countries, which are constantly improving their systems of adult education.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LCY AND SAWPY

THE STUDY GROUP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE IN YUGOSLAVIA

BY AGREEMENT between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and a delegation of the Communist Party of France which visited Yugoslavia in March, a study group of the Communist Party of France stayed in this country from June 25 till July 10. The task of this group was to get acquainted with the experiences of socialist development in Yugoslavia.

The study group of the French Communist Party was headed by Raoul Calas, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, deputy for the Herault Department and editor-in-chief of the weekly "France Nouvelle" and consisted of Georges Maranne, deputy for the Ivory district, Guillaume Le Caroff, deputy for Cotes du Nord, Yvonne Estacky, deputy for Marseilles, Brathelemy Podestat, secretary of the Federation Alpes Maritimes, and Henri Pouget of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

During their stay in Belgrade the study group familiarised themselves with the basic problems of socialist development in Yugoslavia. The group also visited the People's Republics of Macedonia, Croatia and Slovenia.

In the People's Republic of Macedonia the study group toured several general agricultural and peasant work cooperatives and some farms, where its members were given information about questions of socialist development in agriculture. They also saw a number of enterprises in Macedonia (the glass factory in Skopje, the factory of cotton textiles in Stip etc.).

During their stay in Croatia the French group made a study of problems of culture and education in Zagreb, while at Rijeka

they acquainted themselves with the organization and problems of the communal order.

Throughout its stay the study group devoted special attention to the role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the social, economic and political life of the country, and to questions concerning the workers' councils, problems of planning etc.

VISIT OF RAUL AMPUERO

Raul Ampuero, Secretary General of the Popular Socialist Party of Chile arrived in Yugoslavia on July 12th this year.

On his arrival he visited the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, where he had a talk with Cvijetin Mijatović, member of the Federal Committee. During his stay in Belgrade the Socialist leader of Chile also visited the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and spoke to a number of economic and political leaders. In the Institute for the Study of the Workers' Movement Raul Ampuero gave a lecture on "Modern problems of Latin America with special reference to socialist movements in Latin America."

During his travels in Yugoslavia the Secretary General of the Popular Socialist Party of Chile visited Kragujevac, Svetozarevo, the copper factory in Sevojno, the Mavrovo and Jablanica hydro-power plants, the "Rađe Končar" enterprise in Zagreb, the "Split" shipyard in Split, the "Litostroš" works in Ljubljana etc.

In visiting various places, Raul Ampuero had a number of talks with the local bodies of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People on economic, political and other questions. Many of these conversations centred on the problems and experiences of workers' management in Yugoslavia.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1 July — A group of 20 agricultural experts who spent 15 days in Italy making a study of the work of grain experts, have returned to Yugoslavia. Our agricultural experts were specially interested in methods of raising wheat both in plains and in the hilly regions of Italy.
- 2 July — A consultation on agriculture and the cooperative movement and on future district plans was held under the chairmanship of Jovan Veselinov, president of the People's Assembly of Serbia. On this occasion, Djoka Rajković, a member of the Executive Council of the People's Republic of Serbia spoke about experiences gained in efforts for the advancement of agriculture and referred to possibilities for its further development.
- 3 July — As a result of the great interest shown in the USA in the President Tito's television interview which was transmitted by the Columbia Broadcasting Network, the interview was repeated on this day. Besides the Columbia radio and TV stations, the television service of the New York "Daily News" relayed the interview.
- 3 July — The BBC transmitted over television network the President Tito's American television interview.
- 4 July — Aleksandar Ranković, president of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Veterans' Federation addressed a message through the Yugoslav radio stations to the veterans of the National Liberation War, in connection with Veterans' Day — July 4th — in which he said inter alia, that the achievements of the national revolution are being realised through the workers' self-management and communal organization.
- 4 July — Veterans' Day was celebrated throughout the country by thousands of citizens. At Mrakovica, on Mount Kozara, a magnificent meeting, which was attended by guests from Poland and the USSR, was held on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Kozara battle.
- 5 July — The Federal National Assembly began work. It adopted changes and additions to the Law on the organization of municipalities and districts. Councils of Producers are to be introduced in all municipalities. The Assembly passed laws on wines, on the organization of scientific work, and on copyright.
- 6 July — Tadeusz Dietrich, the Polish Finance Minister arrived in Belgrade. Mr Dietrich and Mr Kole, the assistant finance minister, made use of their two-week sojourn in this country to exchange views and experiences with Yugoslav representatives on finance and the budget.
- 6 July — The President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito received, at Brioni, a delegation of Soviet War Veterans which were staying in our country as guests of the Veterans' Federation of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia.
- 6 July — Edvard Kardelj and Aleksandar Ranković, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, Jovan Veselinov, pre-

sident of the People's Assembly of Serbia and General Otmir Kreačić left for the USSR on a private visit. On their return, they will visit the Scandinavian countries and some West European countries.

9 July — The Federal Executive Council held a meeting under the chairmanship of Svetozar Vukmanović, the vice-president. The meeting approved the investment programme for the construction of the basic canal network of the Danube-Tisa-Danube hydro-system, passed a decree on the use of the Federal Fund for the advancement of cultural activities, and adopted the bill on the Moša Pi-jade fund for the advancement of graphic arts and the education of young artists.

10 July — King Paul of Greece and Queen Frederika arrived at Brioni on a private visit to President Tito.

10 July — Ali Sastroamidjojo, the former Indonesian prime minister arrived in Belgrade as the guest of the Institute for International Politics and Economy.

11 July — An augmented meeting of the Executive Council of Vojvodina was held in Novi Sad to examine the seven-year programme for the development of Vojvodina agriculture.

14 July — A fair of textiles and textile machines was opened in Leskovac. Besides Yugoslav enterprises, exhibitors from Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Western Germany, Italy and Hungary took part in the Fair.

15 July — President Tito received Mr. Sastroamidjojo at Brioni.

19 July — A trade agreement was signed in Bonn between delegations of the Yugoslav Government and the Government of the Federal German Republic, regulating, goods exchange between the two countries from July 1, 1957 — June 30, 1958.

20 July — A protocol on goods exchange between Yugoslavia and the USSR was signed in Belgrade.

21 July — Chinese agricultural delegation headed by Liao Lu Yen, Minister of Agriculture arrived in Belgrade. The delegation was returning the visit to the Yugoslav cooperative and agricultural delegation which last year stayed in the People's Republic of China. The delegation will conduct talks with Yugoslav economic and political functionaries.

Diplomatic Notes

1 July — Janez Stanovnik, the Yugoslav delegate was elected president of the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council of UNO in Geneva.

2 July — President Tito gave his consent to the appointment of Dashiyin Adilbisha, hitherto Mongolian Foreign Minister, as the first Ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia in Yugoslavia.

6 July — Bogdan Crnobrnja, Yugoslav Ambassador to India left New Delhi for Afghanistan to pay an official visit, having been accredited to that country also.

8 July — Salah Bitar, Foreign Minister of the Syrian Republic, arrived in Yugoslavia for a five day visit to this country at the invitation of Koča Popović, State Foreign Secretary.

8 July — Radoš Jovanović, newly-appointed Yugoslav Ambassador in Sophia, visited Todor Živkov, member of the Praesidium of the National Sbornie of Bulgaria and first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

12 July — President Tito received Salah Bitar, Foreign Minister of the Syrian Republic, at Brioni.

12 July — Raoul Ampuero, leader of the People's Socialist Party of Chile, arrived in Belgrade as a guest of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, to spend there weeks in this country.

13 July — The Brazilian General, Juarez Tavora, former candidate for the presidency of Brazil, arrived in Belgrade.

Our New Contributors

BARBARA CASTLE, Labour Member of Parliament since 1945. She has taken part in the political life of her country since 1937. Publicist, contributor to a large number of papers and periodicals in Great Britain and abroad.

PAUL VAN ZEELAND, Belgian representative in the European Coal and Steel Community. He entered the political life of his country in 1935 and was several times Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He was president of the League of Nations and creator of the "Zeeland Plan". A prominent European economist, Zeeland has participated in many international conferences. Publicist, author of a large number of articles and publications which have attracted considerable attention.

SLOBODAN BOSILJČIĆ, editor-in-chief of Radio Belgrade. Deputy in the People's Assembly of Serbia; secretary of the Presidency of the Cultural-Educational Community of the People's Republic of Serbia.

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VOLUME VIII

NUMBER 176—177

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